1: Tillev E-5 (1968) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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A Mapuche hammock

[frontispiece]

1: Titiev E-8 (1968) 1951 SG4 Arentsniance SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

DRESS

Araucanian males of all ages have abandoned their old-style costumes almost entirely, except for the common wearing of woolen ponchos (Spanish, *manta*; Mapuche, *makuñ*). The most common garb for all occasions consists of a pair of woolen trousers, usually threadbare or repeatedly patched, an inexpensive cotton shirt, a short poncho that covers the chest and back, and a felt hat (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). When no hat is used, men generally bind a colorful handkerchief about the forehead. Shoes are sometimes worn, and rubber sandals may be utilized in winter, but most often men go barefooted. Chaps or trousers of untanned rawhide are occasionally worn by men when they must travel over muddy roads, and two or three ponchos are put on, one above another, on cold days. Except for differences of size, little boys dress in the same fashion as do adults (Frontispiece).

Young women usually wear simple cotton house dresses, aprons, shawls, stockings, and if they can be obtained, such conventional undergarments as slips or chemises. By way of contrast, older women generally wear more traditional styles of clothing. Their most essential garment still consists of the red-colored type of heavy woolen dress that is called a *chamal*. It is draped over the left shoulder, where it is fastened with a pin, frequently nowadays with a large safety pin, and it is passed under the right armpit so that it envelops the body and hangs down to the ankles.* It is held at the waist with a woven sash or belt that encircles the figure twice and is looped at the left side. An apron is commonly worn over the *chamal*, and when the weather is cool a shawl is draped over the shoulders and may be fastened in front with a large safety pin. A kerchief or scarf is the conventional head covering and is usually the brightest part of the daily costume. Some of the older women wear shoes, but most of them go barefoot, and in general they do not wear stockings or undergarments.

*The use of the *chamal* leaves the left shoulder bare. At present, a blouse is worn under the traditional garment. Further information on the subject of clothing may be obtained in Latcham, 1909, p. 356; Lothrop, 1930, pp. 316–19; and Montandon, 1930, pp. 109–11.

PLATE II

Fig. 1. The framework of a rube under construction.

Fig. 2. A bridge shell in its scaffolding.

[end plate 2]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE III

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FIG. 1. Backing the caravan into place at Cautinche.

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FIG. 2. Reverend Juan Antimao with his wife and five of their children.

[end plate 3]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE IV

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FIG. 1. Children playing *chueca* in the schoolyard at Cautinche. From the entrance of the caravan.

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FIG. 2. Women wearing traditional Araucanian costumes. The pompons worn by the younger women are commonly used on festive occasions.

[end plate 4]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE IX

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FIG. 1. A male *machi* and two assistants. The one at the left holds a small gourd rattle in each hand. J. M. Collío identified the *machi* as a hermaphrodite nicknamed Alamo.

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FIG. 2. Juan Leviu ("Sekuta") Paineo playing a *llollkin* of his own make at Carrarriñe. The pail of water enabled him to clear his instrument.

[end plate 9]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XI

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FIG. 1. Dedication of a new cross at Coigue. A *ñillatun* field is being inaugurated. The donor of the cross is in white shirt sleeves at the left of the second row. The officiating *machi* faces the group, and a *trutruka* player is at the left. A Chilean flag, a black standard, and jars of *mudai* and *chicha* are next to the cross.

FIG. 2. The principal *ñillatun* field at Carrarriñe. The same area is used for hockey.

[end plate 11]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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PLATE XII

FIG. 1. Start of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The worshippers kneel and the *machi* stands ready with her *kul·truñ* poised. Coigue's cacique, the little man leaning forward in the front row, is about to asperge the gathering with a twig from a bowl of water.

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FIG. 2. Progress of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The dancers are moving backward away from the altar. The *machi*, in a long white apron, stands in the middle of the front row.

[end plate 12]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XV

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FIG. 1. The family of Segundo Paineo at Carrarriñe, in front of a storehouse, by the *ruka* in which they live. The boy at the left is the son of Mrs. Paineo's brother.

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FIG. 2. Hockey game at Carrarriñe. Players and spectators wear everyday clothes. Fermín Collío stands left of center, with his feet spread wide apart.

[end plate 15]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XVI

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FIG. 1. Two men from Renaco. Fermin Nahuelhual, the cacique (left), and Segundo Huenchual. Although Segundo regards himself as an Araucanian his face shows little evidence of Indian ancestry.

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FIG. 2. Children at Carrarriñe. Behind them is the one-room school conducted by the Misión Araucana. Domingo Carilaf, the teacher, is at the extreme right.

[end plate 16]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the tameless Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the Incasic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed cornerwise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In those earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured worsted band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the softer skins, using eyeless needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, employing rushes, fibrous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

283 There
286 is reason to believe that they had learned the rudiments of spinning and weaving,
177 probably from the same source[1] before the arrival of the Incas (*circa* A.D. 1450), and that they utilised the wool of the guanacos slain by their hunters in the confection of articles of dress.

177 The Incas introduced the llama and vicuña into the country, and from that time weaving became a recognised art among the northern tribes, although farther
286 south the possession of a few of these animals was considered as a sign of considerable wealth. But the wearing of woollen clothing did not become generalised till the introduction of sheep during the Spanish occupation. This animal increased rapidly in the fertile plains of Southern Chile, and shortly formed one of the principal sources of riches among the Indians. To-day, cotton cloth is also extensively used.

291 The dress of the Araucanos, both men and women, consists of two principal garments, the *chamal* and the *iculla* or *macunyi*, both made of coarse native cloth, generally of a dark blue colour. The former is worn by the men in guise of breeches, and consists of a square of cloth passed between the legs with the four corners drawn up under a waistbelt. By the women it is worn draped over the left shoulder, where it is fastened with a thorn, pointed bone, or a silver pin. Passing under the right armpit, it envelops the body and hangs to the knee, kept in place by a woollen cord or waist band.

The *iculla* of the women is a smaller square, and hangs from the neck, mantle fashion; it is generally discarded indoors. Since the introduction of cotton goods
[177] the men usually wear coarse shirts of this material; formerly this garment was made of soft skins. Over all they wear the *macunyi* or *poncho*. A handkerchief or strip of coloured wool (*trarilonco*) is bound round the forehead, and completes the ordinary dress.

These Indians go barefoot, and seldom wear the raw hide sandals of the Chilian peasant, although some of those who live in the neighbourhood of the towns, and are brought more into contact with civilisation, occasionally wear boots and hats. The children generally run about quite nude, or at most with a small skin apron, which, however, they discard in their games.

301 *Ornaments.*—The Araucanos are not so much given to personal adornment as most savage or barbarian races, although the women show a certain love of display. The most ancient and the most universal of their trinkets are undoubtedly the collars and necklets of bright-coloured stones. They usually employ green or bluish green stones (silicate of copper oxides), such as malachite or azurite, which abound all through the country, calling them *llanca*, a name commonly adopted in Chile to express these ores. Small pieces of these stones polished and perforated were strung on cords of twisted fibres. Those tribes who dwelt near the coast used small shells and coloured pebbles for the same purpose.

The coming of the Incas gave them a knowledge of the use of metal, and both gold and silver were extensively worked for ornamental purposes. These ornaments were mostly simple in form and of rude workmanship, although some

[1] [i.e., the Calchaqui.---Analyst]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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[end plate I]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893)1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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[end plate 2]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 The interior of the larger huts was commonly divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section and serving as sleeping quarters for the different families or wives. There was ordinarily a separate fireplace for each married couple or wife. Storage space was provided by lofts and cane-partitioned bins.

342 476 Huts were erected in two or three separate stages by the voluntary joint labor of the men of the settlement or community, on the mingaco plan, with an eating and drinking feast after the completion of each stage. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:149; Latcham, 1909, p. 337; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 143–46; Manquilef, 1911, pp. 22–39; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 173, 176–78.)

352 **House furnishings.**—In earlier times there were no beds, tables, or chairs. The natives slept on skins or on heaps of grass or rushes, placed on the ground, using skins or ponchos as cover and a section of tree trunk, or a bundle of rushes or skins, or a stone, as headrest. The low platform bed was of later introduction. They ate seated on the ground or on tree-trunk sections. Hide and basketry containers served for storing food and other possessions; clay jars for holding chicha. (For details on house furnishings, see especially Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 39–48, 229–51.)

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

● 291 [177] **Garments.**—In recent times, apart from the generally adopted European clothing, the more characteristic garments of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* men were the chamall, the chiripa, and the makuñ (poncho); of the women, the kepam and the ekull (ükella). Chamall, makuñ, and kepam are apparently words of *Araucanian* origin; chiripa and ekull, of *Quechua*.

The man's chamall was a rectangular piece of woolen cloth covering the body from the chest or waist down, and secured at the waist with a belt; his chiripa, a cloth of chamall type, worn drawn up between the legs from behind and secured at the waist, thus forming a sort of loose, wide breechclout-trunks; his makuñ, a poncho proper, a rectangular oblong woolen cloth, plain or striped or sometimes figured, with vertical slit in the middle for the head, and with the sides not sewn together.

The woman's kepam was a rectangular woven cloth, of chamall shape, pinned over one shoulder and leaving the other bare, reaching from above the breasts and under the armpits to the calves or feet, and secured at the waist with a belt; her ekull, a shawl or capelike garment, worn over the shoulders and pinned at the breast, commonly with a silver tupu.

Our early sources on the *Mapuche-Huilliche* are, as a rule, none too specific or detailed in describing native clothing, and in some cases use the same *Araucanian* or Spanish word to denote different garments.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

We can, nevertheless, trace back the chiripa among the Argentine *Araucanians* and *Mapuche-Huilliche* to the first half of the 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:183; Smith, 1855, p. 184), the kepam and ekull to the second half of the 18th (Molina, 1901, p. 148), the makufi, the poncho proper, to the mid-17th. (Marcgrav, 1648, pp. 283–84, woodcut, p. 284; cf. Ovalle, 1888, 12:160; Brouwer, 1892,

FIGURE 73.—Earliest known illustration of a poncho (*Araucanian*). (After Marcgrav, 1648, p. 284.)

p. 60.) The kepam resembles in many respects the woman's garment described and figured by Marcgrav (ibid.). It is in Marcgrav (ibid.), too, that we get our earliest unmistakable record, not only in Chile but in South America, of the true poncho (fig. 73). Montell (1925; 1929, pp. 238–244) has presented strong evidence for his theory that the true poncho as distinct from the widely distributed Andean sleeveless shirt, was a *Mapuche-Huilliche* invention, and has suggested that

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

• 291 it was probably a modification of the sleeveless shirt to permit greater freedom of action on horseback.

As described by Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 230), the early *Huilliche* men of the Ancud region wore breeches, shirt, and cape, all of [llama] wool. The shirt, like the *Mapuche* type described by Góngora Marmolejo (1862, p. 2) and González de Nájera (1889, p. 39) as "without sleeves," was presumably the typical Andean rectangular sleeveless shirt. González de Nájera's description (ibid.) of the short breeches as a "paño revuelto" serving as a "pañete" and reaching to the midthigh is somewhat suggestive of the later chiripa. According to Marcgrav (loc. cit), the breeches reached to the knee. According to Brouwer (1892, p. 60), the early Chilotans wore breeches that flared at the bottom like a sailor's, and a mantle, but no shirt or coat.

Mapuche-Huilliche garments were mostly of woven llama wool. The púnu, a small apronlike, leather pubic covering, was used by hockey-players and transvestites (Bascuñan, 1863, pp. 61, 107).

The *Huilliche* of the Ancud region were wearing pointed woolen caps or hoods when first encountered by the Spaniards (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 230; Ercilla, canto 36, 1910, p. 579). Elsewhere, however, as a general rule, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* went without hats. Both men and women used a woven woolen fillet (tari longo, trarülo̧ko) to bind the hair, caciques often using a silver band in place of it. Warriors frequently wore animal or bird heads or skins on the head. The cotton, silk, or woolen square worn like a turban, and the woman's beaded headgear, are not reported earlier than the 19th century.

The earlier *Mapuche-Huilliche* ordinarily went barefoot. In the mid-17th century, low footgear ("caligae") were being used by men on festival occasions (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 283). By the second half of the 18th century, natives of rank were using woolen boots and leather sandals (Molina, 1901, p. 148), which later became more common. The zumel (shumel), or "bota de potro," made of the hide from the leg of horse or cattle, softened and allowed to dry on the foot, was introduced, apparently from the Argentine Pampa, in the first half of the 19th century (de la Cruz, 1836, p. 33; Smith, 1855, pp. 323–324). It was used as a riding boot, the point of the boot being left open to allow the rider to grip the stirrup with his big toe. The tarcango, pieces of sheepskin or cowhide with the hair side in, lashed on the feet and legs for crossing the Andean passes in the snow, was used, apparently by Indians, at least at the Uspallata Pass in *Picunche* country (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:704, 899; on the earlier *Pehuenche* snowshoes, see infra, section on "*Pehuenche*," p. 760).

302 Hair.—References in the early sources to coiffure are scattered and vague. Brouwer (1892, p. 60) found the mainland *Huilliche* men with their hair cut short around the ears. (See also Góngora Marmolejo, 1862, p. 2, and Marcgrav's woodcut, 1648, p. 284.) Since at least the

5:Cooper Z-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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PLATE 116.—Araucanian Indians. *Top (left)*: Mapuche female shaman. *Top (right)*: Mapuche woman weaving. (Courtesy Chase Lins.) *Bottom*: Mapuche girl. (After Lenner, 1937, opp. p. 8.)

[p. 734 D]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picunche
Argentinian Araucanians

Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence.

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 138).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapoche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139).

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Puelenche*" of Mariño de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Puelenche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Puelenche*" of Molina, Azara y Juncal, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Pöeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Puelenche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including these latter "*Puelenche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1873 a, 1873 b, 1901)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucaniane SG4
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Araucanian cradle (Alegué): 1, Front view. (Notice chevron wall of reeds.) 2, Back view. 3, Baby strapped to cradle.

[A 12 (B)]

10: Ridgely R-5 (1948-1952) 1951
BOA Accessions BOA
Chile

Infant and small children: a, Baby strapped to cradle (Terena). b, Mother nursing her 4-year-old boy. (Mother swallowing kerosene to conquer cold.) (Chorote.) c, Boy in diapers (Angaite).

[12c]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Small children (Alepie): 1, Mother transporting child. (Note thatched wall of ruka in background.) 2, Shoes lacking, this boy had to wear socks to be dressed up. 3, A child and its grandmother.

[415]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS VOL. 133, PL. 5

Small children: 1, Boys playing riding horseback (Coñaripe). 2, "Do you always wear shoes?" asked the little girl of the writer (Boroa). 3, Little girl transporting her brother (Coñaripe).

[p. 12(E)]

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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● 291

Small children (Alepie): 1. "We just got dressed up to have our picture taken." (Cofaripe.) 2. Older girl: "Ah, you photographed me!" Mother: "This little girl does not want to wear her shoes." (Alepie.) 3. Two little girls from an unhappy home (Alepie).

[p.12(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

304 Parents feel obliged to have a daughter's ears pierced. Very rarely, today, do they have a son's ears pierced."

[852] Formerly nearly always—today only occasionally—relatives are invited to a plentiful meal at the ruka of the child's parents on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with designs.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS

854 The only preventive of chafing known is frequent bathing. Hence the baby is usually bathed (set in a dish and water dashed against it) whenever its diaper is changed.

The baby's diaper is a piece of chamall—cloth woven by the women from homespun yarn. The expectant mother will weave a piece, double armstretch in length and one-fourth as wide, before the baby is expected. It is cut crosswise into three equal pieces. Should the baby arrive before the mother has woven a piece of chamall—"sometimes you know, a baby comes before the mother has reckoned it will"—or, if the mother finds she needs more chamall than she has on hand, she will cut up one of her own pieces of clothing (also made of chamall) and use it. A mother usually has two or three pieces of chamall as her own personal clothing, unless she is very poor. The informant added with some laughter, "When she has used up everything she has for diapers, or if she has not had anything to begin with, she will probably cut up her husband's poncho!"

The baby is laid upon the diaper, from under the arms to beyond the feet. The diaper is not drawn up between the legs, as diapers usually are, but its sides are folded over the baby. Then the baby is laid on another piece of chamall, one which reaches from the neck to beyond the feet. The sides of this piece are also folded over the body but cover the arms also. Next, the bottom ends of both pieces are brought under the feet, and a band is wound about the baby. When the baby soils itself, it is wiped with the under piece and then bathed and swaddled into a clean diaper. Soiled diapers are washed, dried, and re-used. "The baby has no diaper, no shirt, nothing on its body, like Chilean babies do; nothing except these pieces of chamall."

[291] The diaper of a child that walks is a skirtlike affair that reaches to the ankles (pl. 3, *3*). It is tied about the child's waistline with a band "like men use to hold up their trousers." Open ends overlap in front.

[777] In Alepúe area women keep an unused diaper in the ruka to bring good luck. "My mother kept one; I do; and I know other women who do." Moss was not used as diapers.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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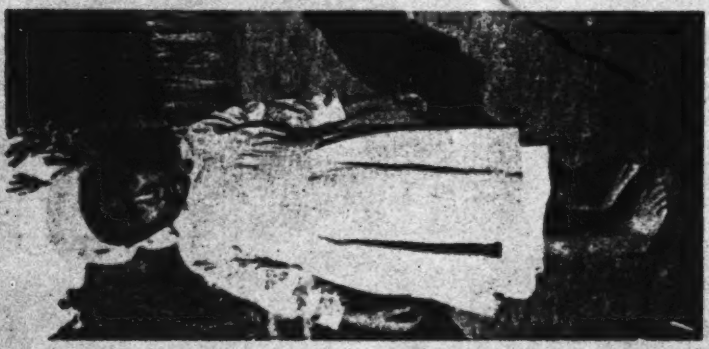

Older children: 1, "You can photograph me. I don't mind!" 2, "So those two women are North Americans." 3, "Bueno! I am standing still. It's the wind."

[p. 28(A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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[492]

[p. 286]

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS VOL. 133, PL. 8

Children old enough to carry responsibilities: 1, "I am ready now to show you the way to Mehuin." (Alepúe.) 2, A boy ready to deliver and fetch the mail. The horse he rides belongs to him. (Coñaripe.) 3, "Here, papa! Take this bundle of wheat." (Coñaripe.)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Araucanian schoolchildren: 1, Boys on their way home from school. (Note burnt-over land, now being used as pastureland. 2, Girls on their way home from school. (The clearing in the middle background is now a wheatfield). 3, Lunch time at school. (Note garden fence of logs.)

[illegible]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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[482]

Alegre schoolchildren at recess time: 1, Boys carving tops out of wood. 2, Girls peeling apples to be served as apple butter at lunch time. 3, Carrying wood for the Sisters' kitchen stove before a rain.

[p. 28(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

FIRST CLOTHES

In the early days a little girl who had learned proper toilet habits was dressed in clothes modeled on those worn by adult women (cf. pp. 223-224). The chamall used was either woven especially for her or cut from an old one. Until a little boy learned proper toilet habits he was dressed in a skirtlike diaper as were girls. After that he wore his chamall like a man's chiripa, that is, drawn forward between the legs and tucked under a belt. He also wore a poncho, "just like grown-up men do." At present an occasional child is dressed as formerly, but most children are dressed in modern clothes like Chilean children. Rarely does a child have a hat or shoes, even today; formerly all were bareheaded and barefooted.

NURSING, WEANING

Before the baby's first nursing, the midwife, or, in her absence, someone else who knows how, pokes a finger down its throat and then pours into it the juice of a leaf of paico or a teaspoonful of a concentrated decoction of a leaf of paico. The leaf is heated near the fire and its sap squeezed out by hand. The baby will gag and throw up the phlegm that has been in its throat. The baby is nursed for the first time when the mother returns from her bath.

If the mother has no milk flow after delivery, she is given the sap of the root of ŋil in water gotten from flowing water, usually a spring. She drinks of this mixture two or three times and also washes her breasts with it. She eats no special foods to cause an increase in milk flow, but she does eat larger quantities of available foods, especially toasted wheat and roasted corn. These cereals, generally mixed with warm water, she eats alternately in warm and cold water, the belief being that if eaten in warm water only they will make the baby hot.

The child is nursed whenever it cries. "The mother knows that it is hungry then." It is given both breasts at each nursing and is nursed "until it wants no more." If a baby persists in crying after it is nursed, or cries and refuses to nurse, it is thought to be sick. Relief is then sought from an herbalist, a specialist. General household remedies do not seem to include any for sick babies. On rare occasions a machitun (a shamanistic ceremonial) is performed over the sick baby. "Mothers cannot bear to hear a baby cry," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "If one persists in crying, the father comes and asks for a remedy. I usually suggest that the mother refrain from eating highly spiced foods, and I give him herbs from which to make decoctions.

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Chilean Araucanians: 1, A Collaripe family. 2, 3, Alepúe men and women who welcomed the writer and her field assistant to the Araucanian country.

[p. 92(8)]

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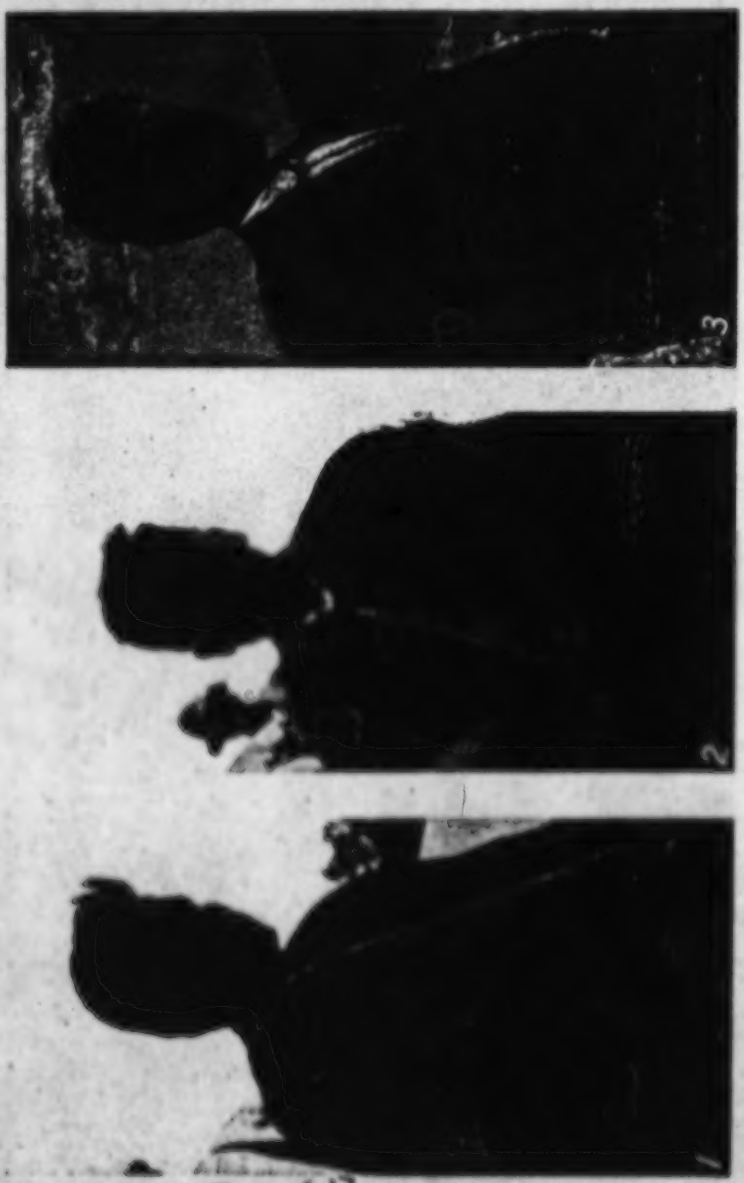

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Young men Araucanians: 1, 2, Cañelos men, side and front views. 3, Alepúe man.

[A92(C)]

[p.12(b)]

Coloripe Informants: a, Sixteen-year-old boy. c, d, Two views of one of child informants.

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Informants: 1, Domingo Huenun, chief informant of Panguipulli. 2, Collaripe man, more than 100 years old. (Note the ojotas, native footwear.) 3, One of Alepüe's finest young men.

[p. 92(F)]

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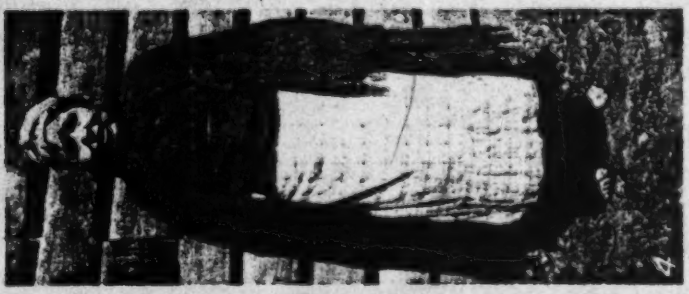

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Women's clothing (Aleppo area): 1–3, Women dressed for fiesta. 4, A woman in her everyday dress.

[p. 220 (D)]

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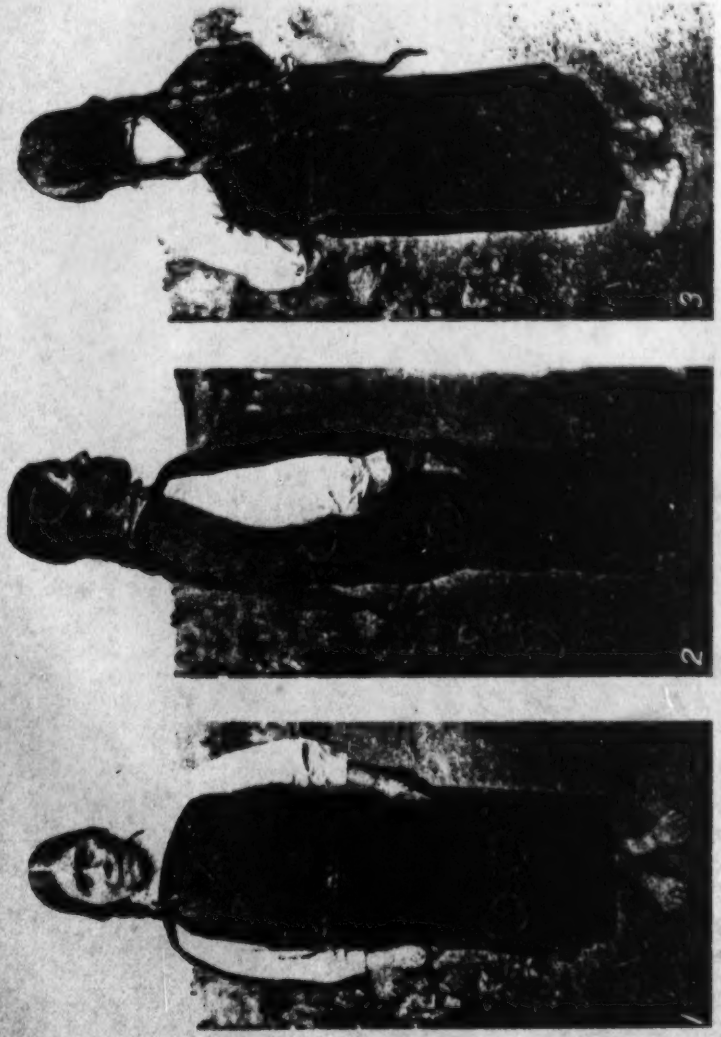

Three views of the lepam, the woman's traditional homespun and homewoven dress of black yarn (Alepúe).

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[p. 220 (E)]

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pelts were used if additional covering was needed. All sleep in day clothes. "It is this that makes it so difficult for a school child that is a bed wetter," noted a teacher. 352 513

An Alepúe man had heard his grandfather tell that formerly, in rare instances, a man made for himself a mattress. He laid bunches of grass parallel to each other and intertwined these with less coarse grass. A few families today have factory-made mattresses, especially if either parent of the family at one time worked in a Chilean home. Feather pillows are not used; anyone wishing to sleep with head elevated uses a rolled or folded poncho. A sick person was seen having the head elevated on a piece of wood covered with a poncho. Coverings are folded and laid aside when not in use. [158]

Low 4-legged stools, low benches, and log sections are used as seats. Shelves, attached to walls or suspended from rafters, and a table usually provide space for storing cooking and eating utensils, and movable containers. If containers hold food, they are often suspended in midair by means of voqui from tie beams or fire raft, or are hung on pegs on walls or fire raft to keep their contents from animals, such as cats and chickens. An Alepúe woman had made a shelf (18 inches long and 8 inches wide) by intertwining colihüe sections of equal length with voqui. 352 251

According to Cooper's sources, grain and other food supplies were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes were stored in bins within the hut (1946, p. 705). Today all storage is within the ruka; wheat is stored in bins, boxes, barrels, cloth sacks, or lamb-skin sacks, and occasionally in the traditional storage place, the canoa, a dugout tree trunk with closed ends. A canoa in use in Colluripe area was approximately two single arm stretches in length. Potatoes were seen being stored in boxes made of boards, in cloth sacks received in trade from Chileans, and in lofts in the back of the ruka. Lofts are made by placing planks on tie beams of rafters. "Potatoes are always stored farthest away from the fire."

Today, containers for storage, other than bins, barrels, boxes, canoa, and sacks, are traditional baskets (küiko and chaiwe), netted bags of various sizes (wiñi), dried gourds, paunches and udders of cattle and sheep, earthenware ollas and cántaros, wooden dishes, factory-made porcelain, enamel, and galvanized dishes and pails. In some instances a piece of cloth tied by opposite corners served as a container, also.

CLOTHING

A 70-year-old Pangipulli man listed the following as a complete outfit of clothing for a man—and a boy as well—when he (the in- 291

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291 formant) was a boy: a chiripa (pants of chamall, a rectangularly shaped, rather loosely woven piece of cloth), a chochol (sleeveless sweater of chamall), a makuñi (poncho), a chamallwe (woven belt), a trarülogko (headband, no head covering); and for men, but not boys, a pair of tranu (leather soles tied to the feet), several traükuque (metal bracelets), and trarünamun (metal anklets). A chiripa was secured at the waistline with a belt, and then drawn up between the legs from behind and tucked under the belt in front.

When Father Sigifredo arrived among the Araucanians about 1900 nearly all men were still wearing chiripa and walked barefoot. Conservative old men in all areas wore chiripa as recently as 1940. "In fact, the cacique [Coñaripe] who died recently never owned pants." In all areas today some men and boys still wear chiripa when working near or at home—"one must have money to buy commercially made pants; a chiripa is cheaper; our women weave chamall for chiripa."

The oldest informants had heard old people say that when they were still young the Araucanians wore clothing made of dressed hides of a wild animal "of which there were plenty then." One informant believed it was the huemel. An old woman who was listening in said she had heard that it was the puma.

301 Informants recalled the days when the cacique wore one earring, a silver one, and when a man's saddle gear was ornamented with silver; but no informant knew of any man who owned such ornaments today. All remembered that a man of means—"and most of them were that," a woman listening in interjected—could be distinguished by a trarütuwe, that is, a leather belt ornamented with silver; the belt worn by others, the chamallwe, was homewoven and not ornamented.

291 Today, in general, men, both young and old, wear shirts and pants the same as Chilean men, securing them with the traditional chamallwe instead of a leather belt as Chileans do. All men wear ponchos; some also wear coats. (Pls. 20, 22, 23, 25, 26.) Men often have two ponchos, one for work and errands in the area and a better one for special occasions such as trips to other areas, fiestas, and church services. At present, too, men wear shoes on these special occasions; and if a man can afford it, he will also have shoes for his sons for such occasions. At home all are barefoot, unless a man makes for himself a pair of ojotas (tranu) (pl. 26, *a*). Ojotas are made from dressed, untanned horse or ox hide. In making a pair, a man steps on a piece of hide and marks on it the outline of his foot, making the pattern large enough so that when the edges are brought together the hide will cover the entire foot. He cuts out the section as marked, pokes holes at close intervals along the edge and runs a thong through them.

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He then makes a duplicate and soaks both in water. When they are soft, he places a foot on each, brings the edge over the foot by pulling up the lacing, which he ties in a knot over the toes, and goes about his work. "The dried tranu are then like a fitted shoe," remarked the interpreter. Sometimes a sole of wood is inserted; temu is preferred for this because of its flexibility.

Today, clothing of preschool and school-age boys consists of knee-length pants, shirt, and sweater or coat, and usually a poncho. (Pls. 5; 7, *2*; 8; 9, *1*; 11, *1*, *3*; 12.) Boys' pants are usually made of new cloth bought in Chilean stores; occasionally they are made from a piece of chamall or a man's worn pants, but usually a man's pants are mended until they finally fall apart. Men do their own sewing by hand. Women or older girls do the knitting. A small boy's pants are sometimes knitted from yarn; so are sweaters. Shirts and coats are either bought in stores or made from worn ones of men. In Coñaripe nearly every boy between 2 and 11 years of age wore a sleeveless, short-legged coverall knitted of homespun yarn of a natural brown color, or dyed a deeper brown. It was usually knitted by the mother or an older sister—occasionally by the boy himself. Knitting was introduced by non-Araucanian teachers in recent years. Ponchos were woven of yarn.

In general boys were barefoot; an occasional one in Coñaripe area wore ojotas to school. Any boy wearing shoes gives evidence thereby that his parents are people of means. A fond aunt who could not afford shoes put stockings on her little nephew when his picture was about to be taken (pl. 4, *2*), as stockings give greater prestige than do bare feet. Hats, too, were a sign of a standard of living higher than mere necessities. More hats than shoes were seen on boys in all areas. Boys who had hats wore them at fiestas, when going to town or to church services, when bringing messages or mail to the writer, when having a picture taken, and occasionally at school. Younger boys wore knitted berets (pl. 8, *1*). A 2-year-old Coñaripe area boy wore a cap, "because the sun shining on his head makes him sick," said his 19-year-old sister.

Regarding women's clothing and accessories the 70-year-old Panguipulli man said the following articles were the customary ones when he was a child: a kəpam (dress, homewoven of black yarn); an ikülla or ikalla (shawl woven of black yarn); a trarüwe (belt); two akucha (stickpins), one used in pinning the dress and the other the shawl; a trarülonko (headband of silver medallions) or a llaflafnotrowe (headband ornamented with little silver studs) or an undecorated woven band—all worn to keep the hair from the face; and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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291 [302] a nətrowe (yarn braided into the hair or wound around bunches of it and around the ends of braids). Ponchos were not worn by women; nor did women wear tranu—all walked barefoot. Today, in general, women of all ages wear a long-sleeved waist and a kəpam, and over these, an apron; a factory-woven black shawl is worn when away from home. (Pls. 2, 3; 3, 2; 4, 1, 3; 24, 2, 3; 29, 1; 38, 3; 56; 58.) Most women are barefoot at all times; those who have shoes wear them only on special occasions.

A kəpam is rectangular in shape. (The 100-year-old Coñaripe man said the kəpam could also be called küpam or pillkeñ.) A married woman demonstrated the manner of wearing the kəpam. (Cf. pl. 56.) She placed the kəpam against her back lengthwise at the shoulders. Then she brought one corner toward the front, across the right shoulder, and the other corner under her left arm, across her chest, and over her right shoulder; then she tied a belt (trarüwe) tight about her waist. Next she folded the two corners on her right shoulder, one over the other, in front of the right shoulder and pinned them together with a safety pin. After this she adjusted the overlapping skirt parts—at least a foot of each. The only clothing worn under the kəpam was a long-sleeved waist of considerable length. Married women, after the arrival of the first baby, wear the kəpam pinned on one shoulder only, "as I showed you; it is easier to nurse the baby when the kəpam is pinned on one shoulder only." Unmarried women pin them on both shoulders.

Girls formerly wore clothes styled like those of adult women. Usually the mother wove a kəpam to fit the girl. "I recall my mother taking my measurements for one she was getting ready to weave for me; I had only one; she had made that one out of the less worn-out part of an old one of hers."

Waists and aprons are made of cotton cloth bought in Chilean stores; they are hand-sewn by the women—no family owned a sewing machine. Buttons being scarce, in Alepúe area a row of Chilean 20-centavo coins with two holes punched in each were often seen sewed down the front of a waist.

The factory-woven shawl worn today by both women and girls is folded double so that corners fit exactly. This gives it the shape of the ikülla worn formerly. The shawl is worn over the shoulders (over the head only in the rain) and is secured at the neck with a safety pin or stickpin.

In all areas a few women, both young and middle-aged, who were either working as servants in Chilean homes or had done so, wore modern dresses exclusively. Having worn modern dresses as residents

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

for 3 or 4 years in boarding schools did not keep them from wearing the kəpam as adult women, noted the interpreter. "I have noticed, too," she added, "that as soon as they marry, they wear the kəpam. One young woman told me recently that, in any event, the kəpam was more comfortable." Girls of school age wore modern dresses, unless they came from very isolated areas, in which case they wore the kəpam; older ones wore calico dresses; younger ones, either calico or jumperlike knitted ones. (Pls. 5, 3; 7, 1, 3; 11, 2; 17.)

Children are barefoot. If shoes are owned they are usually worn only at church services and when going to Chilean towns. One little Alepúe girl wore her sister's shoes to school, "because I have a cold."

Women today who own traditional silver accessories and ornaments quite evidently wear them with a feeling of distinction. (Pls. 27, 55.)

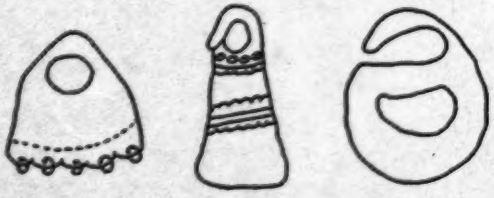

FIG. 6.—Women's earrings. (Courtesy Museo Araucano de Temuco.)

They are highly prized, and are always worn at festivals, "or when the Mapuche meet in large crowds anywhere." At a festival in Alepúe area, nine women, probably older than 50, who wore silver ornaments were pointed out by other women as being dressed in the "real Mapuche way of old times." With few exceptions, silver ornaments were heirlooms, and in nearly all instances had belonged to an old relative of the owner, usually the woman's mother. "All these on my head were given to my mother when she was a young girl." Silver things worn by women were stickpins, safety pins, large ornamental pins, ear pendants, headbands, and head ornaments. (Cf. pp. 59-61 for personal adornments.)

Clothes are washed on flat rocks or on wooden slats in running water found near the ruka, usually the same brook from which drinking water is obtained, but below the source of the drinking water. Women and older girls do the washing, with, occasionally, a boy of school age helping. Several hours previous to washing, things to be washed are soaked in water at home, and soap, if there is any, is added. In most areas the water is soft, and even non-Araucanians used

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Argentine Araucanian informants.

[p. 268(A)]

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Argentine Araucanian informants.

[p. 268(A)]

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Informants, interpreters, and field assistant: 1, Obtaining information regarding the trutruka from Kolupan of Pilpil. To his right, Bertha Ilg-Koessler of San Martin de los Andes, interpreter; to his left, Margaret Mondloch, field assistant. 2, Informant in Quilaquina (left) and Lisa Pfister, of San Martin de los Andes, interpreter.

[p.268(B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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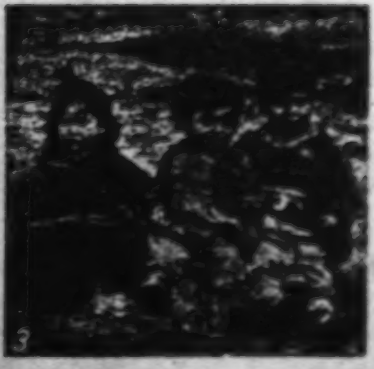

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Araucanian children: 1, Bringing buckets of water from the spring (Pfaff). 2, Four-year-old boy playing with a two-wheeled toy made by his father (Trumpf). 3, Three children awakened from a nap to have their pictures taken (Trumpf). 4, "Who are you?" (Pfaff.) 5, "I am winding the thread" (Pfaff.)

[p. 268(C)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Mollon. 1. The recipes of Mollon, his wife and four of his children, and Father Ladislao Pirziuk, the late Salesian missionary to the Araucanians. 2. The home of the recipes. 3. A view from the recipes's home showing some of the cultivated and pasturelands leased by him from the Argentine Government for the people under his jurisdiction.

[p.268(41)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Diapers consisted either of a piece of homewoven cloth or of untanned skin of a very young guanaco or lamb, with wool closely clipped. The skin was rubbed to softness first with a stone (pl. 74, *b*) kept for the purpose of softening hides of any kind, and then between the hands. When in use, the wool side was toward the child. If the diapers were of homewoven cloth, the mother had either woven proper-sized ones or she had cut off pieces from worn-down homewoven clothing or bed coverings. Specially made ones were woven of single-spun untwirled yarn; twirled yarn would have made the cloth hard. Diapers were approximately 18 inches square and were worn in skirtlike fashion, overlapping in front. An expectant mother prepared several diapers. Soiled ones were washed in water with leaves of chacay and reused.

The baby's first clothing was its diaper and a wraparound. If the diaper was of cloth, a soft, closely clipped skin of young guanaco or lamb was wrapped over it; if a young guanaco or lamb skin served as a diaper—which it might in very cold weather—the mother wrapped a piece of woven cloth about the skin. All was held in position by binding around the baby a woven band, generally a yard long and 4 inches wide.

By the time a child is able to speak it is expected to tell its toilet needs. "When they are able to use words they ought to be able to tell about that, too. I slapped their bare buttocks whenever they wet or soiled themselves; they soon learned to tell it then."

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Cradleboards were of two types, both approximately 18 inches wide and 30 inches high. One type—the one described by the oldest informants—consisted of an inverted U-shaped frame made either of a bent cultivated period of bark, or of a braid of willows. The sides of the U were held in position by the backrest to which they were fastened. The backrest was a netting of either strips of colt hide or rope of cultivated bark, or of sheep pelt. It ended approximately 6 inches from the foot end—the bend of the U was the head end.

The second type, used occasionally today, was rectangularly shaped and consisted of a backrest made of peeled split cultivated stalks. The stalks were placed alongside each other, either horizontally or vertically, and tied near the ends to two unsplit cultivated stalks (pl. 74, *c*, *d*). Tyings on both types of cradles were done with strands of tendon found along the spinal column of the horse—"this is exceedingly strong," Kolupan noted. He apologized for using twine in tying the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Argentina

the floor, or on cloth sacks filled with carded wool that rest on factory-made bedsteads or homemade platforms. When sleeping outdoors, persons lie with feet toward the rising sun.

Traditionally, silos and cisterns and containers made of hide were used for storing such things as grain and chicha. A schoolboy was storing a pair of socks and other belongings in the hide of a small pig. His brother was going to store his things in the hide of a stillborn fetus of a pig. The two boys had emptied the fetus through its mouth, organ by organ, and had then stuffed the skin, including the head, with grass. "As soon as the skin is thoroughly dry, I shall take all the grass out of it and put my things into it," said the little boy.

Things seen stored in sheds included loaves of braided horsehide, inner lining of horsehide, hoops, bundles of recently shorn wool, sacks of spun yarn waiting to be dyed "when I know what colors I need for the pattern I want to make," several worn-down homewoven blankets, several bedsteads, dug-out tree trunks and hoops used for storing grain, cowhides, sheep pelts, saddle gear, ponchos, boots, men's and women's clothing. Potatoes were stored on platforms of cullidin stalks that rested on beams of rafters. In the fall of the year hay and straw also are stored in these sheds, unless the family has a separate shed for the purpose.

CLOTHING

In the early days guanaco wool was woven into material used for clothing. "This material was soft and delicate like silk," said an old informant.

Clothing of boys and girls followed the traditional pattern of adults'. A man's clothing included pants (chiripa) and a poncho (makuñ). Those who wished to do so wore ojotas on the feet; in general, however, everyone was barefoot. Horseback riders often wore boots (*fumil*). Kolopun demonstrated how a chiripa should be worn by wrapping a piece of cloth lengthwise around his waist letting it overlap in front. ("This should be chamall," he noted, chamall being an oblong piece of woven material used for clothing.) He secured it at the waistline with a woven belt (trariwe), pulled the lower back edge forward between his legs and tucked it under and over the belt. Belts were usually 7 feet long, 3½ inches wide, and ended in fringes. Then he put on his poncho, and said, "All I need now to be dressed as formerly is a pair of ojotas or *fumil* (boots) and a band about my head to keep my hair back." He indicated bringing a band across the forehead and temples, crossing it at the back of the head, bringing it forward, and tying a knot in it over the temple.

10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG6 Araucanians SG6
Argentina

Ojotas were made from horsehide. The person for whom they were intended stood on a piece of hide, which was then cut to shape well beyond the outline of the foot. The edge of the leather was then punctured at intervals with holes through which a lacing of rawhide was passed. The lacing could be drawn to bring the side together at the ankle, where it was secured with a knot.

Boots were made by stripping the hide off the legs of a horse, removing the hoofs, and then treating the flesh side as were the hides used as table coverings. The rider's toes protruded through the opening made by the removal of the hoof. "Toes needed to protrude, since the big toe controlled the stirrup," noted the informant. If a boot did not fit snug, it was tied above the ankle. Spurs were fastened about the ankle and instep. A spur was a nail hammered through a block of wood that was fastened to a band of leather.

A woman was completely clothed if she wore a dress (kepan), shawl (dwil), wichipin (tupu), sash and breast ornament (ilbil), headband (rewilhuipu), and silver earrings. The dress reached from shoulders to ankles and overlapped in front where it was held in position by being pinned together with a tupu. A woven belt, wider than one used by men, secured the kepan at the waistline. Each end front were overlapped on one or both shoulders and fastened with a little stick or twig, more recently with a safety pin. A 60-year-old woman examined a photograph of a Chilean woman in kepan and said sadly, "It is a pity that all this had to end. I wore a kepan until the soldiers came and chased us from place to place. It was impossible in those days for women to set up their looms long enough to weave. We had to buy clothing then to make clothing. Anyway, the Whites wanted us to do away with our own way of doing things, and that included our way of dressing."

The shawl was a piece of woven material approximately a yard square. If a woman wove one for her own use, it was of one color throughout; if she intended it as a gift (shawls were often among the gifts exchanged at the marriage ceremonial), she wove it of one color with a border of white. When gummers used lanzone weave, young weed dyed black became a favorite color. No design was woven into a shawl.

The tupu was a wichipin with a large silver disk. The ilbil had several pieces of silver strung one below the other, often with danglers, and ended in a cross. The rewilhuipu was a silver-ornamented headband worn to keep the hair in place.

Adults today wear modern clothes patterned after Argentine upper-country styles, made of factory-woven cloth. Factory-made canvas

10: Hilger E-8 (1946-1952) 1997
BC4 Araucanians BC4
Argentina

shoes are worn in summer and leather shoes in winter. (Pls. 6a, 6c, 6d, 6e, 7a, 7c.) Women's adornments today are earrings and finger rings. Children wear modern clothing like that of Argentine country folk (pls. 6a, 6b-6f). In general they are barefoot when around home but wear shoes at school and when among non-Araucanians.

Clothes and other essentials are washed today, as formerly, in rivers and creeks, that is, in flowing water, with crushed leaves of *chawy* as a detergent—an occasional family outing one way. "During the time we lived in Chile," said an informant older than me years, "we used bark and wood of a tree—I have forgotten its name."

DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS

SPINNING AND WEAVING

Formerly, gummed wool was spun and woven into clothing and coverings of various types. Garments were cut discard; the wool was collected from those killed for food. The hide was prepared for the removal of wool by rolling it up tight, with the wool inside, and letting it lie for three days, after which the wool was easily plucked off by hand. (Informants indicated leaving the hide on the bare and pulling off handfuls of wool at a time.) Because the wool was so short, it was spun before it was washed, to prevent loss. Today wool shorn from sheep is used; it is washed and then spun.

The traditional spindle—still in use today—is a round piece of wood pointed at each end (pl. 7f, c,d). In a notch made at the upper end the spinner fastens one end of the yarn with a slipknot. Near the lower end is a whorl made of clay. A spindle I saw in use was 25 inches long; its whorl was 2 inches in diameter. The owner spinned wool by hand; she pulled it well apart and then drank it vigorously to remove foreign substances; any that remained she picked out by hand. This done, she prepared to spin. She pulled the wool into elongated ropes, wound one loosely around her arm, and then fastened an end of it to the end of the yarn on the spindle by rolling it between her fingers. She now rested the spindle on the ground, letting it lean against her, twisted the rest of wool that remained between it and her arm, lifted the spindle, and gave it a twist to unkink. This spun the yarn. Since she wanted very finely spun yarn, she twisted the spindle three times to unkink. She then opened the slipknot at the notch and wound the yarn that she had just spun onto the spindle by again twisting the spindle to unkink. Girls learn to spin "when old enough to be taught how to do it" (probably at 10 years of age). A woman older

[illegible] Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucaniana SC4
Argentina

[illegible]

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the wor[illegible]" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil'

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A T 648 women having previously brought up their fresh horses, they were in almost less time than it takes to write it in the saddle, and formed into excellent line, lances in hand, waiting for us to go through the ceremony of welcome. In about five minutes our ranks were dressed, and the usual galloping, shouting, and ceremonious greetings gone through. I was A [291] particularly struck with the bold, honest bearing of the young men of this party, who, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, with clean linen drawers and white flannel vests underneath, presented a most civilised appearance. More A noticeable than the remainder, who numbered but twenty- [142] seven in all, were four brothers, particularly handsome, robust men, with florid complexions, who at a distance, where the colour of their eyes could not be distinguished, looked almost like Europeans; which remark made to El Sourdo, who was my right-hand man during the performance, called forth the reply in a low voice, 'Very much devil these Indians; perhaps fight.' That he could have entertained the idea when we were at least ten times their number, speaks A volumes for the Araucanian character for bravery.

233 However, all passed off quietly, and a council was fixed for the following day. As we were returning to the toldos we observed some of the Araucanians bringing up a flock of sheep, and others a herd of cattle, from some woods bordering the stream, which flowed to the northward. On the eastern side of the valley some four or five hundred horses and mares were grazing on the green pasture; and Hinchel pointed out to me with great glee the horses and mares—about a hundred head—owned by his eldest son, who had married an Araucanian woman, and resided with them; and the proud father declared that we should not want for A food, as he likewise owned cattle and sheep.

224 Casimiro informed me that many years ago, whilst travelling northwards, he met these same Indians on foot. Their A custom was to hunt with large dogs that they kept expressly 482 for the chase, and dividing the meat equally, carry it back

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if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Chingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'leshu,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

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about half an hour watching the Manzaneros, who presented a fine appearance, dressed in bright-coloured ponchos and armed with their long lances; they manœuvred in four squadrons, each with a leader—from whose lance fluttered a small pennon—moving with disciplined precision, and forming line, wheeling, and keeping their distances in a way that would not have discredited regular cavalry.

At the end of the half-hour's suspense hostages were exchanged, and we went through the ceremony of welcome. The Tehuelches were all very excited, and being in the middle of the troop, when we formed column and raced down towards the Manzaneros, I at first thought that we were in for a general scrimmage. On arriving, however, at the line, our leaders wheeled sharp round, and we went through the usual routine, with the unpleasant exception that both sides had their guns and revolvers loaded with ball, and every now and then a bullet would whistle past one's ears or close over our heads. After the usual hand-shaking between the chiefs, the great Cheoeque, an intelligent-looking man of some thirty-five years of age, well dressed in blue cloth ponchos, a hat, and leather boots, rode down our line, shaking hands with everybody and making some remark. When he arrived at my number, I felt rather ashamed of my dress, a simple mantle not in a very good state of repair. He, on his side, having asked who I was, appeared rather astonished at hearing I was an Englishman, and having been further informed that I had written the Spanish letters previously sent to him, which had been translated by a Valdivian, stopped for some minutes conversing with me. After this a parlemento took place, during which all remained mounted, and the discussion lasted till sundown, by which time every one was very hungry. The conclusions arrived at related chiefly to effecting a firm and lasting peace amongst the Indians present, on which point a happy unanimity prevailed. Another day was appointed for the discussion of Casimiro's proposition for guarding Patagones, and the Chilian war with the Indians

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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by Chocoque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Chocoque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback,' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Mercedes, but the chief part more to the northward,